BERLIN PREVIEW BY J. A. DEL VAYO

THE Nation

January 23, 1954

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Pact with Dynamite

Arms for Pakistan?

Articles by Michael Brecher and Owen Lattimore

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Your Telephone Bill — *Harry R. Booth*

Balanced Views on Russia — *Will Starnes*

A Review of Current Studies

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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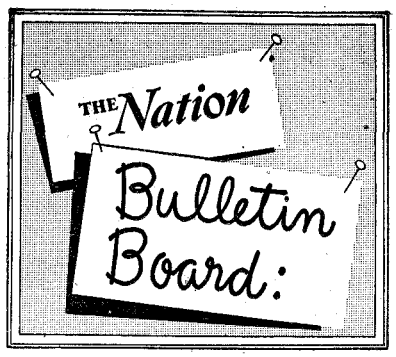

IT WAS SNOWING heavily, and the Long Island train, as is its custom, moved hesitantly along the tracks. A friend who does high-pressure huckstering for a plush Madison Avenue agency sat beside me.

"What's *The Nation's* circulation?" he asked. I told him.

"Pretty modest," he said, "how come everybody knows about the magazine?"

"Great magazine," I said. "The best independent liberal weekly in America, eighty-nine years old, rich in tradition. . . ."

"Please, my wife's grandfather is an independent liberal, *ninety* years old, rich in tradition—and nobody knows about *him*."

"O. K., so you tell me."

"Well—any of your stuff ever get reprinted?"

"I'll say! St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* Madison *Capital-Times,* Washington *Post,* York *Gazette and Daily,* Minneapolis *Star and Tribune,* Sacramento *Union*—and a lot more. And don't forget union papers, church, academic, and civic-group publications—and how many read the magazine in thousands of school and public libraries? And there's overseas—England, France, Japan. . . ."

"Hold! Enough! O. K.!" my friend cut me off. "Now you're saying something. Looks to me like you've really got maybe thirty or forty times the circulation you think you have."

I stared at him; beamed at him in fact.

"I never thought of looking at it that way but I certainly will from now on."

The rest of the trip home was sheer delight.

FROM VARIOUS sources in the advertising-publicity business I hear that one of *The Nation's* scoops caused a substantial stir in those circles.

In May, 1953, we published a major article by Dr. Alton Ochsner of Tulane, one of the top men in the country in tobacco-cancer research. (Smoking and Lung Cancer, May 23, 1953. Limited number of copies still on hand. If you'd like one drop me a postcard.)

Now Ochsner's work, as well as that of others, has received front-page attention, after *The Nation* story gave the initial push. Result is that the industry has finally moved to counteract the unfavorable newspaper publicity. (This will teach the tobacco companies to cut down advertising budgets for newspapers and concentrate strictly on radio and TV.) The industry, as many of you undoubtedly know, has set up a fund to subsidize tobacco-cancer research.

When the Ochsner article appeared in *The Nation,* copies were snatched off the newsstands in record-breaking quantities—not to mention requests to the office for additional copies. Among other things, I'm told, they were circulated far and wide throughout the huckster fraternity.

To quote one of my informants: "It was the first national-magazine piece in a long time which started the old ulcers jumping—and helped promote a crop of new ones. Even back then the boys began to realize they'd have to do something."

P. S. This adds up to another good reason for you to keep reading *The Nation* regularly.

FOREIGN EDITOR del Vayo, who is going to cover the Big Four conference in Berlin, has probably covered as many such international gatherings as any foreign correspondent. He made one of his biggest "scoops" in the early 1920's when he was chief of the European bureau of the Argentine newspaper *La Nación.* One Sunday in Genoa—when most other journalists had left town bent on some holidaying—Del Vayo remained behind. In consequence he was able to send off an exclusive story on the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo between the Germans and the Russians.

In his book "The Last Optimist" Del Vayo described his feelings after he had cabled his story and realized that he had scooped the press of the world: "[It was] one of those moments that compensate a journalist for all the arid stretches he must go through."

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MARTIN SOLOW

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Volume 178, Number 4
New York, Saturday, January 23, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Ike's Farm Program

The President's farm message, the first of seven special messages he will send to Congress, conveys several dominant impressions. One is that Mr. Eisenhower has clearly welched on his unequivocal campaign pledge, made in the Brookings, South Dakota, speech, of full support for a guaranty of prices on basic commodities at 90 per cent of parity. He now proposes an early return to a "flexible" or sliding-scale scheme. Another dominant impression is of the message's basic inconsistency. On the one hand, a flexible price-support policy is to be pursued so that the consumer may benefit from lower prices; on the other hand, agricultural surpluses are to be "insulated" from the market so that the prices consumers pay will *not* come down. By this time the consumer should know that lower prices paid to farmers for their products do not necessarily mean lower food prices in the neighborhood market. The distributor's share of the consumer's food dollar has risen from 46 cents under rigid supports in 1945 to 56 cents in 1953. The distributors and processors explain the increased "spread" in terms of the consumer's finicky preference for fancy containers, wrappings, and displays. The shallowness of the explanation is indicated by a recent experiment in Akron. By eliminating paper cartons and selling milk in gallon jugs the Lawson Milk Company has been able to make a substantial reduction in the price to consumers, while the per capita consumption of milk in Akron has shown a sharp increase over the national average. Apparently consumers are more interested in prices than in aesthetics.

It should be clear, too, that the general trend in agricultural income is downward and that the President's program is not likely to halt it. The effects on the national economy are already apparent in the decline in the production of farm machinery and related items. Farmers who would reverse the trend will observe that the wool growers came off very well; here there will be no "sliding scale" but rigid price supports. Thus the wool growers may be thankful that John H. Davis, formerly chief executive of the National Wool Growers' Marketing Association, is now serving as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

In general, the President's farm program is certain to meet with active opposition in Congress, spearheaded by such members of his own party as Senators Young, McCarthy, and Thye. What is likely to emerge is a continuation of present price-support programs for at least a year and possibly for three years—that is, beyond the 1954 Congressional election in any case and possibly beyond the 1956 Presidential election.

No Fanfare for Fanfani

The designation of Amintore Fanfani to head the new Italian Cabinet is a victory for the left wing of the Christian Democrats. He is the last of the three parliamentary leaders who represented the movement within the party known as "Initiativa Democratica." Of the other two, Dossetti abandoned his political career to devote himself to the mobilization of youth behind a Catholic "New Deal" program. The second, La Pira, who was elected mayor of Florence to succeed a Communist, actively supported the recent sitdown strike at the great Pignone works in Florence. Unlike the M. R. P., its counterpart in France, the Italian Catholic party has been able to keep both a right and a left wing within its ranks—a great advantage, for when a Pella falls, a Fanfani can be called.

On the other hand, Fanfani will not find it easy to build a strong Cabinet or keep it in office. The Monarchists, who were agitating for the return of Pella, will not support him, nor does he want their support. The Liberals do not like his approach to economic problems. The right-wing Socialists naturally prefer Fanfani to Pella, but they learned in the last elections the bitter consequences of an alliance with the Christian Democrats. Nor is Fanfani at all likely to invite the collaboration of Nenni, leader of the left Socialists. The two extremes, Communists and Neo-Fascists, oppose him for their contrary reasons.

In addition to these internal conflicts, a left-oriented government in Rome will have to reckon with strong opposition from Washington. It is no secret that Ambas-

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The Nation, January 23, 1954. Volume 178, No. 4

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc. 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

sador Luce returned to Italy to express the Administration's sharp distaste for the rapid increase of Socialist and Communist strength, and to warn the government that defense contracts might be withdrawn from plants whose workers were predominantly Communist or organized in Communist-controlled unions. This sort of open intervention is of course resented by Italians of every political shade; but it will have its effect none the less, since it is the price charged for continued American aid. For all these reasons the prospect of a return to stable government in Rome is not bright.

The Politics of Butter

The Soviet government's decision to dip into its gold reserves in order to procure larger supplies of consumer goods from abroad is the most intriguing, and promising, development in international trade for many a long day. These reserves, reputedly second in magnitude to those of the United States, have been steadily enhanced by the output of the Siberian goldfields. Yet they have been hitherto jealously guarded, apparently as a strategic reserve. Their partial utilization to pay for imported food and clothing means, therefore, a drastic change in policy that attests to the strength of the demand by Russian consumers for jam—or butter—today instead of pie in the sky. It also suggests that the Soviet leaders' fear of war is less acute than their speeches often imply.

Apart from such political connotations there are good reasons for welcoming this development. Western European nations that sell textiles and other consumer goods for Russian gold obtain support for their reserves and additional buying power in the dollar area. That in turn helps to maintain our own exports and may do something to ease the burden of surplus farm commodities. Indeed, there may be a direct stimulation to such trade if the Administration decides to authorize the sale of surplus butter and cottonseed oil to Russia. One reason for hesitation mentioned in Washington is fear of charges that the United States is "subsidizing" Russia. This is absurd. The value of the butter is the world price, which Russia is apparently prepared to pay. The only subsidy involved is that given to American dairy farmers, who are paid for their butter 15 to 20 cents more per pound than it commands in world markets.

McCarthy's Dilemma

One amusingly ironic aspect of the Soviet offer arises from the fact that Senator McCarthy represents the largest butter-producing state in the Union. His only comment so far on the prospective deal is that he would rather feed Korea, Pakistan, and other friendly nations than "the enemy." Unfortunately, such nations either do not need more butter or cannot afford to pay for it,

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as the Department of Agriculture, which has been canvassing foreign markets, knows. Thus from the point of view of the Wisconsin farmer it would be foolish to turn away a prospective purchaser who offers to take a sizable proportion of the huge government butter hoard that overhangs the market. In fact, if asked what they think of exchanging Russian gold for butter, McCarthy's constituents are likely to reply, in effect, *"non olet"*—or better still, *"non oleo."*

Voting in Alabama

The citizen who seeks to register under Alabama's recently amended voting statute must be accompanied to the registrar of voters by a qualified elector who can vouch for him under oath. The applicant must then swear to the truth of his answers to twenty-one questions, some of which have numerous subdivisions. For example, he must state under oath whether he has ever been a dope addict or habitual drunkard; provide an account of his education and business experience; name any organizations or groups with which he may at any time have been affiliated that advocated the overthrow of the government—any government—by unlawful means. Then, too, he must answer the question: "Will you give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States government or the government of the state of Alabama?"

After being required to specify some of the duties and obligations of citizenship, he is asked: "Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict?" Finally he is asked: "Do you believe in free elections and rule by the majority?" If this question is answered in the affirmative by all those who believe in white supremacy in Alabama, the state faces a problem of mass perjury of truly fabulous proportions. This new Alabama law is but one of many indications that the right to vote is more and more being hedged about with restrictions which can only have the effect of deterring citizens from exercising it. It would take a brave Negro to register under this act.

"Sunday Punch Policy"

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE talks at the Big Four conference in Berlin are to be private, but the American keynote speeches have already been delivered—and to a world audience. The President's State of the Union message and Mr. Dulles's Council on Foreign Relations speech on January 12, detailing the essentials of the "new strategy" of the Eisenhower Administration, were obviously timed to influence both the agenda and the conclusions of the Berlin meeting. One can assume that they were intended to hearten and reassure our allies and at the same time to warn the Kremlin that it might better come to terms, since an aggressive move on either its part or that of any of its satellites would be met by "instant retaliation" at places of our own choosing.

What this threat actually implies was described in blunter, livelier language by the New York *Daily News*, which warmly approves of it. The "Sunday punch policy" means atomic and hydrogen explosives delivered wherever they will do most good. It means no more dreary counter-attacks as in Korea. Had it been operative in 1950, "the United States would have thrown air power, atom power, and supporting sea power at the North Koreans," or "would have hit the Red Empire at some sensitive and unprepared spot or spots." Although Mr. Dulles simultaneously insisted that "we need allies and collective security," the new strategy plainly diminishes that need. Since the idea is to place "more reliance on deterrent power and less dependence on local defensive power," E. D. C. and a rearmed Germany both somewhat recede into the background. Also, at the very moment when the Administration is carrying on preliminary talks with the Russians on the question of setting up an international pool of atomic material for peaceful use, its highest officials proclaim a huge expansion of atomic weapons to support a strategy based primarily on atomic war—not merely against atomic attack but against any attack, and not necessarily against an actual aggressor but against the power considered responsible for the aggression.

WHAT WILL BE the effect of the "Sunday punch policy" on the deliberations at Berlin? One effect can be predicted. It will not hearten or reassure our allies. Even before Mr. Dulles's speech, the new emphasis on air power and atomic weapons announced by President Eisenhower had promptly been interpreted by European observers—as Mr. del Vayo pointed out last week—as further proof that the dreaded "peripheral policy" had already been decided upon in Washington. Mr. Dulles's words can only have confirmed their fears. What Europe has dreaded most is the withdrawal of American ground forces from the soil of the Continent in favor of "new" weapons and strategic air power disposed around its periphery, from Spain to Turkey—a strategy of atomic retaliation inevitably inviting atomic counter-retaliation from the East. The probable sequence is all too easy for Europeans to visualize. Suppose, for instance, a Communist revolution begins in Iran; suppose Russian troops cross the border, or Russia ships in supplies and "experts" and perhaps some "volunteers"; suppose atomic retaliation is "instantly" visited upon Moscow by American bombers or guided missiles based in Europe; suppose the Russians reply in kind. . . . As the Washington *Post* recently commented, Mr. Dulles has decreed in effect

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that there shall be no more limited wars, unless we ourselves decide to limit them.

The anxiety of Europe will be inevitably reflected in its political and military behavior. Not only will the arguments for E. D. C. and even NATO be blunted, but as American forces are cut down, French and Dutch and Belgian forces will dwindle too. And defense appropriations will be pared down accordingly. Once "local defensive power" is no longer considered a prime necessity, the European governments, goaded by the rising discontent of their hard-pressed people, can find other, more popular, things to spend money on.

This is only one aspect of the strategic New Look that is calculated to make our allies shrink back rather than stand firm. Another is the widespread horror that will be generated by a decision to use nuclear explosives except as an answer to attack by the same kind of weapon. The Administration's new strategy does not suggest any such limitation. On the contrary, it clearly implies that we shall employ our "massive retaliatory power" in whatever way seems strategically indicated. The full price we shall have to pay for this decision has yet to be reckoned. This journal believes it will be ruinously high—and not only in other countries. It is inconceivable that the American people, once they fully understand its implications, will acquiesce in a policy of atomic attack except as a direct reprisal in kind. In any case, this policy is bound to weaken our moral position at Berlin and give the Russians—who have plenty of ruthlessness on their own score card—a huge if unearned advantage. We wonder, these days, how Mr. Dulles feels, down in the depths of his formerly Christian-pacifist soul, about the new American strategy.

As for the Soviet position at Berlin, it is hard to predict. The Russians are not easily intimidated. They have atomic weapons themselves. They are not planning any early aggression anywhere, direct or indirect; on this the best Western authorities seem to agree. Their first aim at Berlin will almost certainly be to prevent the rearming of the Germans. Their second—or possibly it is the other way around—will be to divide the Allies and impress Western Europeans with their desire for a general easing of tension. On both points the keynote speeches of Eisenhower and Dulles may help Mr. Molotov rather than perturb him. At least they have reduced the value of armed German divisions as a part of the defense of the West, while increasing the fear of France and Britain lest their territories become the shattered battlefield in a war of atomic retaliation. If Moscow is looking for a "world-wide Korean armistice"—as C. L. Sulzberger suggested in the New York *Times* last Sunday—to give it time to restore its internal stability, its trade, and its relations with the satellites, Berlin may afford unexpected opportunities for bringing this about.

Berlin Preview

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

AS THE date of the Berlin conference approaches, its exceptional significance becomes more and more evident. The Foreign Ministers of the Big Four will discuss an issue—Germany—on whose solution more than on anything else depends the achievement of an East-West agreement. Fortunately, they will meet in a different atmosphere from that prevailing a year ago. The war of words has been replaced by a sober discussion of the issues which turned the two power blocs into almost irreconcilable adversaries. The long exchange of notes that preceded the Berlin conference marked an advance toward a more constructive diplomacy on both sides. If the views of the two blocs are as far apart as ever, they have at least been presented less and less in the tone of an ultimatum.

Since Russia is always described by Western representatives as the member of the Big Four least ready to make concessions, it is worth while examining the steps which led to the present *détente*. The least suspicious observers agree that it was Russia's influence, together with the growing desire for peace in the United Nations and Eisenhower's pre-election promise, that put an end to the war in Korea. The Soviet Union has abandoned its claim to Kars and Ardahan in Turkey—one of the many points of potential conflict. It has taken the initiative in normalizing its relations not only with Turkey but with Yugoslavia—a country which has lately been a source of worry to the Western chancelleries. The greatest wish of the Austrians—for the signing of a peace treaty—has not been satisfied, but important concessions have been made by the Russian occupation regime.

Moreover, the Russians have slowly but progressively increased the interchange of goods and people with the West. This gives particular interest to the present Moscow visit of Gunnar Myrdal, secretary general of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe. Mr. Myrdal has always modestly insisted that he and his commission do nothing but carry out the "technical mission" assigned to them. None the less, he has played a courageous part in establishing the preconditions for a broad policy of peace based on the complementary economic interests of the two blocs. Harold Stassen's statement that increased East-West trade might help to promote democratic ideas behind the Iron Curtain as well as improve political relations with the Soviet Union was received with satisfaction in Europe.

More people are entering and leaving the Soviet Union every day. This applies especially to artists. The Soviet musicians who came to Paris in December were a sensation of the winter season. Parisians of all classes fought for tickets to performances of the visitors from "the land

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of evil" (*le pays du mal*). In May an excellent company of the Comédie Française will go to Moscow.

But it is Russia's acceptance of President Eisenhower's constructive proposal to discuss an atomic "pool" and the direct conversations between Russians and Americans which have produced the greatest impression here. The French reaction amounts to this: Our government has told us again and again that if we let ourselves be seduced by the Russians' insistent demand to talk terms with them directly, on the basis of the Franco-Russian treaty of friendship, we shall lose American sympathy and help. But now suddenly we see the Russians and the Americans engaged in a tête-à-tête while we are playing the part of the "magnificent cuckold" (*cocu magnifique*). This French view, shared to some extent by the British, cannot fail to influence the Berlin conference.

In fact, it looks as if M. Bidault might be planning to use the Russian-American talks to produce a successful outcome at Berlin. Indiscreet accounts of a secret meeting of the French Cabinet dealing with the Berlin conference indicate a difference of opinion between the Premier and the Foreign Minister. M. Laniel held that the Berlin conference had only a "preparatory character," preparatory, that is, to a top-level conference including Malenkov, as was suggested by Sir Winston Churchill. M. Bidault is said to have been very sharp in asserting the opposite view. He insisted that the Berlin conference was "of the greatest importance" and that he intended to do everything in his power to reach conclusions. He put no stock in the idea that a failure at Berlin could be repaired by a subsequent meeting with Malenkov.

Pessimists say that none of this has changed the essentials of the situation and that the Soviet and Western positions on Germany are as irreconcilable as before. Moscow is still asking for an all-German government first, a peace treaty second, and elections third; the West reverses the order and asks for free elections before anything else. These are, indeed, opposite positions; but I have reason to believe that Mr. Molotov is under instructions to make a great effort to prevent failure at Berlin. Nor is it Moscow's purpose merely to protract the talks in order to stall French ratification of E. D. C. After all, it takes two parties to drag out a conference indefinitely, and Mr. Molotov is hardly likely to forget that the last meeting of the Foreign Ministers at London which he attended was abruptly broken off by General Marshall.

I don't believe that the Russians have agreed to come to Berlin simply to gain time. Preventing, not merely delaying, the rearmament of Germany is still a major objective of the Kremlin, and to achieve this Mr. Molotov may surprise his Western colleagues with concrete proposals which they will find difficult to reject.

Less cooperation can be expected from the "absent member of the conference," Chancellor Adenauer. The head of the Bonn government reacted indignantly to an accusation by the Socialist opposition that he was "sabotaging" the conference and succeeded in getting a public retraction of the word. But according to well-informed sources he continues to urge upon the Americans a course of action at Berlin to which the Russians will never agree.

Certainly it will not be an easy conference; but neither will it be a routine one. On the contrary, it may have momentous results for Europe and the world.

Mr. del Vayo is going to Berlin to cover the Big Four conference. His report on the opening sessions will appear in our February 6 issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.

YOUR PHONE BILL

Is It Too High? . . . *by Harry R. Booth*

THE NEWS that 1953 was a banner profit year for the American Telephone and Telegraph system will bring more joy to its stockholders than to its subscribers, millions of whom are convinced that their telephone service, while technically superb, costs entirely too much.

HARRY R. BOOTH is a Chicago attorney who has specialized in public-utility law and has held utility-regulatory positions with the federal government and the state of Illinois.

Nor are telephone users reassured by the fact that they are currently the victims of the biggest rate-increase campaign ever instituted by a public-utility system. Between January 1, 1947, and October 19, 1953, the Bell System raised local and interstate rates by a minimum of $795,000,000. And the ceiling is nowhere in sight, for increases of an additional $128,000,000 are pending and more have been promised.

The most important public inquiry into the operations of A. T. T. was that of the Federal Communications Commission in 1935-39. At the time the F. C. C. reported that A. T. T. earnings were unusually high, that the company had a virtual national monopoly, that neither the F. C. C. nor its state counterparts had sufficient authority to protect the public's interest, and that the F. C. C.'s own powers should be extended to assure better treatment for telephone users. Do these conditions still apply? Has the A. T. T. grown so big that effective control is impossible?

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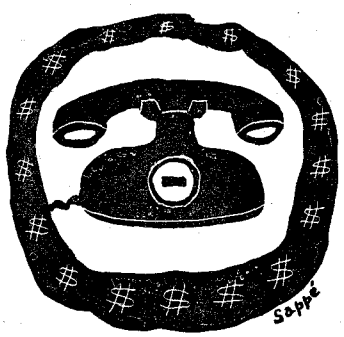
The Bell System's recent extraordinary growth and its monopolistic character can be made clear by a brief statistical survey. Current revenues are at the rate of over $4,300,000,000 annual-



ly compared with about $2,000,000,000 in 1945; there are 40,000,000 telephones (or about 27,500,000 customers) compared to 20,000,000 in 1945; total 1953 profits were in excess of $500,000,000, a new record; the system now boasts 80 per cent of all telephone subscribers in the country; it owns twenty operating subsidiaries with offices in nearly every large city; it controls 100 per cent of the interstate toll service and about 85 per cent of local service; it employed 598,413 persons in 1953 compared with 524,120 in 1947. The A. T. T.'s pension fund of over $1,500,000,000 paid $85,000 per year to its highest executives but little to the mass of its retired employees. Its manufacturing subsidiary, Western Electric Company, has a monopoly of the telephone equipment used by the parent company. A. T. T. controls the pension, managerial, and financial policies of its local companies.

By the judicious use of at least $20,000,000 worth of advertising annually and through its lobbying activities the Bell System has given the public the impression that its only concern is with efficient service at the lowest possible cost and that existing regulatory bodies may be relied upon to safeguard the public interest. But there is insufficient evidence that the basic reforms called for by the F. C. C. inquiry of 1935-39 have been made, and the company's failure to present to the public all important facts relating to certain issues makes its propaganda suspect, to say the least. For example, A. T. T. has frequently boasted of its "liberal" pension plan. It has stated repeatedly that a minimum pension of $100 per month is allowed an employee aged sixty-five whose wages have averaged $250 per month for the last ten years of his thirty-year employment. The pension is subject to social-security adjustment. But the company never explained that such retired employees were actually paid only $36.75 per month until last year. The general public knows nothing of the struggle being made by the Bell System Pensioners' Association to compel, through litigation and otherwise, the payment of the full service pension to their retired employees. The social-security deductions incidentally take little if any of the service pension from highly paid executives, who see to it that neither retired nor existing employees have any voice in the operation or terms of the pension plan.

LET US SEE whether the public is or can be protected by state and federal regulation. The F. C. C. was created in 1934 in response to the recommendations of the Rayburn committee, which held that "the importance of the industry and the magnitude of its operations call for actual, not nominal regulation." Telephone business is a monopoly—it is supposed to be regulated. This demand for actual control was made because of the failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission, under its limited powers, to reduce excessive interstate toll rates. Moreover, it was recognized even then that it was beyond the power of the states to protect telephone users in view of the national character of the Bell System.

In its early years of operation the F. C. C. did reduce toll rates and recommended legislation designed to assure better control of A. T. T.'s practices. But the recommendations were pigeonholed by Congress, and in recent years the F. C. C., overwhelmed with its radio and TV duties, seems to have turned its back upon its responsibilities to telephone subscribers. Within the last twelve months it permitted Bell System rate increases totaling $87,000,000 annually without holding a single hearing. Within the past few months, Commissioner Hennock dissenting, it approved a $60,000,000 annual increase in interstate toll rates effective overnight; similarly a Bell subsidary was permitted to increase local rates in Iowa about $11 per year per customer. Even with public hearings the public gets little protection; without public hearings telephone users have no protection at all.

With federal regulation offering the telephone user little help, we must examine the role played by the state commissions, which are the state counterparts of the F. C. C. Here certain weaknesses become at once apparent.

DETERMINATION of reasonable local exchange rates requires the separation of intra- and interstate operations, a review of payments made by local companies to the parent A. T. T., and an accounting of Western Electric prices for equipment to each affiliated company. The business of separating intra- from interstate operations proved too much for the Illinois commission, which in December, 1951, reported that its separation study had "a number of defects" and was being used "only because no others are available here." In January, 1952, the Oregon commission said that "separation should be on a nationwide basis and should not be attempted piecemeal by the regulatory agencies of the various states." Many other similar comments are to be found in the rulings of various state commissions in spite of their general use of a "separation" formula.

Payments by affiliated companies to the parent company were fixed in 1948 at 1 per cent of total revenue. That year the affiliates paid A. T. T. $25,000,000. Since then annual payments have risen to $43,000,000. The affiliated companies now cite this increase of $18,000,000 as an additional cost factor in their demands for higher rates. But as soon as their rates are increased, the payments to A. T. T. increase, and the vicious circle is kept intact.

Typical of the failure of regulatory bodies to curb the Bell System's monopolistic power is seen in the 15 per cent price increase ordered by Western Electric (a Bell subsidiary) for equipment. The increase enabled local Bell companies to plead higher costs and higher rates. Western Electric's profits, high in 1951, grew so high in 1952 that the F. C. C. urged it to cut its prices retroactively to 1951. Western refused, but then "voluntarily" cut prices by 19 per cent the following year. Nevertheless, in April, 1953, the Illinois commission

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granted an increase of $16,500,000 in rates. Even after Western's 1952 price cut the F. C. C. said its prices were still too high, but that did not stop the federal body from granting A. T. T. further increases in interstate rates.

THERE ARE OTHER weaknesses in the system of state regulation. Most state commissions cannot match the Bell System's huge expenditures on auditing and are largely forced to accept the telephone company's own figures. Commissions, for instance, are usually given only very general data on savings accruing to Bell companies from technological improvements. Is the present system of rate fixing really based upon lowest possible costs? For the first 319 days of 1953, A. T. T. wages were increased by approximately $60,000,000 annually, but in the same period the corporation was granted rate increases totaling $126,000,000 annually.

Although such data are barred in New York and California, the Bell System in many other states continues to use hypothetical reproduction-cost appraisals as a factor in rate-making. The appraisals, which cost telephone subscribers hundreds of thousands of dollars in such states as Pennsylvania and Illinois, are an effective means for nullifying regulation.

On the basis of the last half-century of A. T. T. operation, it would seem that complete protection for subscribers may be impossible. But the public should not yet accept the proposition that the company is too powerful for some measure of effective control. Subscribers need the facts, not A. T. T. propaganda. They must organize in defense of their interests. They have the right to expect that the long-pending anti-trust suit against the A. T. T. will be pushed to check further extension of its monopolistic power. We must hope for a Walsh or a Norris to take up their cause. It is more than likely that an inquiry would disclose the continuation of many Bell practices condemned in the 1935-39 F. C. C. inquiry or new ones equally contrary to the public interest.

PAKISTAN PACT: TWO VIEWS

I. Threat to India . . *by Michael Brecher*

SINCE the partition of "the crown jewel of the British Empire" more than six years ago relations between the successor states of India and Pakistan have remained critical. In 1948 the armies of the two countries were engaged in open combat on the soil of Kashmir, still the burning issue between them and a symptom of the deep malaise in their relations. Other expressions of the profound crisis have been periodic Hindu-Moslem riots, particularly in Bengal in 1950 and 1951, severe economic dislocation leading to the total cessation of trade from December, 1949, until April, 1950, and an almost continuous war of words since the two countries attained their independence.

Yet for a brief period following the change in Pakistan's government in April, 1953, there was a ray of hope that given time and a mutual willingness to make concessions the impasse might be broken. It is within this dynamic context, although not this alone, that one may appropriately consider some of the possible repercussions of the proposed United States–Pakistan military-aid agreement. The advantages of such a pact for Pakistan would appear to be twofold: it would very probably enhance Pakistan's aspiration to leadership of the Moslem world and would certainly strengthen that country's power position vis-à-vis India.

For India the threat is serious. Notwithstanding the decline in tension during the latter half of 1953, influential sections of the Pakistani press did not abandon their oft-stated view that Kashmir might yet have to be "liberated" by direct military action. As Nehru was quick to point out, any augmentation of Pakistan's armed strength would affect the balance of power in the subcontinent and throughout South Asia to the marked disadvantage of India.

Whether the injection of a quarter of a billion dollars of United States arms, a very substantial sum in Indo-Pakistani terms, would tempt Pakistan to initiate a "second round" in Kashmir is open to question. But an agreement of this nature, whether without strings or, as some reports have suggested, in exchange for United States bases, would be likely to have the effect of a political atom bomb in an already overcharged atmosphere. The very prospect of it has already dealt a severe blow to whatever hopes existed for a relaxation of the ominous tension between New Delhi and Karachi.

However, the ramifications of the pro-

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

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jected military entente extend far beyond the relatively narrow confines of India-Pakistan relations into the broader perspectives of the global cold war. The objectives of the United States in offering military aid to Pakistan can best be understood in terms of American global strategy, namely the containment of the U. S. S. R. and the Communist world generally. The weak link in the Western chain of military alliances has been the Middle East. Between Turkey and Thailand lies a power vacuum—oil-rich and populous countries whose governments to a greater or lesser extent have shown a reluctance to become embroiled in the cold war. Viewed in terms of geopolitics, this area includes the bulk of the immensely strategic rim of Eurasia contiguous to the Soviet heartland. Turkey and Pakistan constitute the two pivots upon which a viable Middle East alliance, closely integrated with NATO, may be possible. According to recent reports such an alliance is being encouraged by the West at the present time.

NO LESS IMPORTANT is the geographic fact of Pakistan's proximity to Soviet Central Asia. Air bases in Gilgit, the northern part of Kashmir which is now occupied by Pakistan, would provide an ideal vantage point for crippling attacks on that vital area of concentrated Soviet industrial power a few hundred miles away across the Himalayas.

Pakistan has denied reports that air bases would be granted to the United States. But this would appear to be a temporary concession to India's insistence that, to use Nehru's words, "obviously it is not open to them [Pakistanis] to do anything on Kashmir territory, least of all to give bases," as well as due to a desire not to antagonize the U. S. S. R. However, should Pakistan become a partner of the West it seems likely—judging from similar pacts concluded in the past—that air bases would follow sooner or later, whether in Pakistani-occupied Kashmir or in Pakistan proper.

This policy may well be fraught with danger, for it either ignores or attaches insufficient importance to certain fundamental realities of the contemporary Asian scene. The cardinal fact is that the "uncommitted" nations of South Asia earnestly desire to remain uncommitted. If Pakistan becomes affiliated with the West—and this is what would happen whether or not bases are granted to the United States—the cold war would be brought much closer to the Indian border, a prospect that New Delhi fears and will make every effort to avoid.

ANOTHER CRUCIAL fact is the marked difference between the Western and the neutral Asian outlook on communism. The United States, preoccupied with its hostility to communism, apparently does not appreciate the possibility that other peoples may view the problem with a different perspective. In his recent book, "The United States and India and Pakistan," Professor W. Norman Brown remarks that the people of the subcontinent "are engaged in a great social, economic, and political revolution which is more important to them than the struggle between Western democracy and Soviet communism." He points out that they do not "fear Communist economic and social ideas as such; some of those ideas, its people think, may even be helpful in achieving economic advance." While these comments may no longer be entirely applicable to Pakistan, they certainly apply to the still-uncommitted countries of Asia, notably India, Burma, and Indonesia.

Closely related to this neutralist attitude is the legacy of distrust and apprehension of the West bequeathed by centuries of colonial subjection. Like the United States in its infancy, the various newly independent nations are determined to avoid "entangling alliances." Above all they want time and economic assistance—without strings attached—in order to concentrate their attention on the pressing problems of economic development and eradication of poverty, illiteracy, and disease. They are inclined to view United States policy in Asia as motivated primarily by American interests in the cold war and only secondarily, if at all, by a desire to aid them in their herculean task of raising their depressed standards of living.

Strange as it may seem to the West, India sees no immediate threat to its independence from the Communist world. Its primary focus of attention in foreign policy is Karachi. All issues are judged in terms of their possible consequences on India-Pakistan relations and on their relative power position in the Middle East and South Asia. The vehemence of its response to the proposed United States–Pakistan pact, as revealed in Nehru's recent speeches and public demonstrations in Delhi, is not a façade. Rather, it is the expression of concern by a state which feels that its vital interests are being jeopardized, that its only potential enemy in the immediate future is being groomed for the position of leadership in the Middle East, and that its cherished policy of non-involvement in the cold war is being threatened by one of the super-powers.

Thus to the various consequences of the proposed pact already noted must be added the distinct possibility of a growing breach between Delhi and Washington. During the current crisis Nehru has steadfastly maintained that India would continue to pursue its traditional policy of neutrality. However, pressures from within and from a strengthened Pakistan, supported by the United States, might force the Indian government to abandon its neutrality in favor of a closer relationship with Peking and Moscow. Internally the Indian Communists have been given a rare opportunity to widen the basis of their effective support. Indeed, if the United States wanted to strengthen the Indian Communist Party it could not have selected a more appropriate policy. This policy may be considered a calculated risk but the risks are very great, including as they do the possibility of the complete alienation of the one uncommitted great power in the world today.

Bowles Opposes Pact

Military aid to Pakistan would be a "great mistake" and would undermine the very stability which the free world has been trying to create in Asia, Chester Bowles, former ambassador to India, said at his home. "It seems to me," Bowles declared, "that a policy which would encourage the growth of communism in Afghanistan and India, which would undermine the position of a man [Nehru] who is basically on our side, and which would separate two nations on whose stability the stability of Asia depends would be a very great mistake and would lose us far more than we might gain."—*From the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

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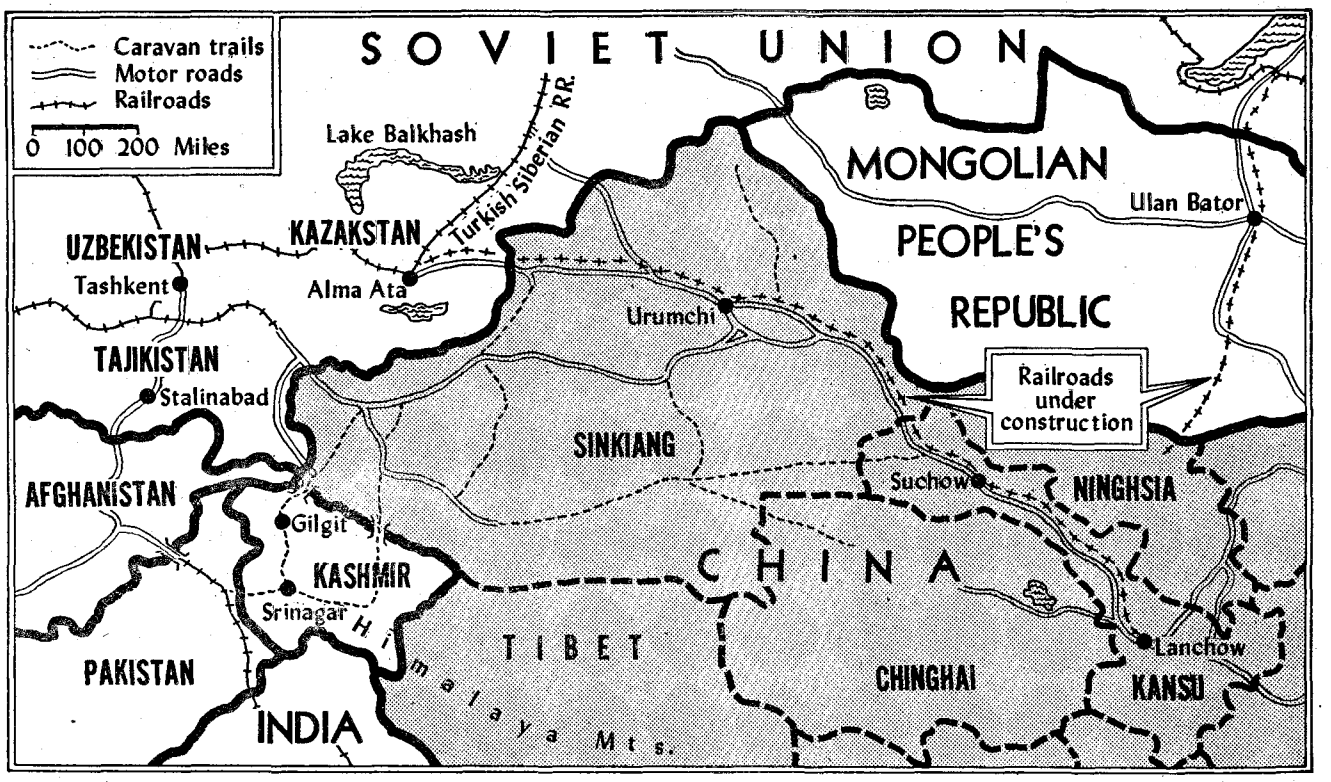

The proposed Pakistan pact can be viewed as a countermove to the integration of transport between eastern China and the U. S. S. R. Part of the Trans-Siberian Railway appears in the upper right-hand corner.

II. Battle of Corridors . . *by Owen Lattimore*

BEHIND the current talk about an American military agreement with Pakistan there lie fundamental problems arising from the differences among Western, Soviet, and Asian concepts of the major issues in the Asia of today.

Russia and China together are rapidly developing a new heart-of-the-continent corridor all the way from the Black Sea to western China, supplementing the northern corridor of the Trans-Siberian Railway. A rail line is being built from China to link up with the Russian lines. Much of the territory that is being opened is mountainous or desert; but it contains oil, coal, and minerals and great possibilities for the expansion both of grazing and intensive farming. The region as a whole can no more be developed without through communications than could our own Rocky Mountain states. American moves in Asia south of this corridor are related to these developments.

Underlying this kind of discussion there are two levels of thinking. The obvious level is that of power politics. Russia, it is argued, now controls China and an inner line of communications from the Black Sea to Tibet. Russian power menaces all the countries to the south of this corridor—Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India. Therefore, the argument goes on, it must be counteracted by two American policies: the acquisition of "deterrent" air bases, from which territory inside the Soviet corridor can be bombed if Soviet forces should step beyond their own frontier; and the building of alliances in which America will help Asian countries in proportion as they cease to be vaguely non-Soviet and become positively anti-Soviet.

At a deeper level lies the second concept, held in a harder, more unyielding form in America than in the West generally: the assumption that Asia is essentially a political vacuum. Revolutionary ferment in Asia, in this view, is the product not so much of political, social, economic, and strategic situations as of imported ideas. There are today, it is argued, only two sources of ideas that can fill this vacuum—Soviet Russia and America. Either America must take hold of Asia and instil the concepts of a free world, or Asia will fall a victim to the Russian idea.

Discussion of these concepts would be more enlightening, though perhaps not so titillating, if we could identify authoritatively their Russian as well as their Asian counterparts. Unfortunately, so far as Russia is concerned, this whole field is ruled more by speculation than by knowledge, and I do not see how it is possible to make more than a tentative approach toward those Russian concepts that are important in the zone where Communist Asia touches non-Communist Asia.

As historical materialists the Russians presumably hold that the influence of changing situations in changing the way men think is a primary phenomenon, while the influence of ideas on situations

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is on a secondary plane. It would be congruent with such a concept for the Russians to hold that the primary vehicle of the revolutionary process is economic change, and that a pragmatic understanding of changes that are taking place is primary, while "ideological" theories about changes that it would be nice to have taking place are only secondary. (I suppose that this is what Lenin meant by his famous saying that "facts are stubborn things.") It would seem realistic, therefore, to expect Russian—and Chinese—Communist action to take the form of seizing the wheel of the vehicle of change whenever the situation makes that possible and resorting to propaganda only as a secondary instrument.

The question is whether these speculations help to clarify the origins and present nature of power in the Soviet "geopolitical" corridor from the Black Sea to China and Tibet. Czarist power was projected over this region, but economically it formed a wide, backward, and stagnant fringe which was inefficiently integrated with the solid core of Russia. Soviet policy—this much at least is not guesswork—has aimed at rooting Soviet power in the Inner Asian republics by means of economic change, especially industrialization.

In an attempt to fathom Russian "materialistic" thinking on this kind of problem, two phases may be suggested. In the first, a situation changed men's thinking. In the disintegration of Czarist Russia, when it was defeated by Germany, Russian rule in Inner Asia was not overthrown: it collapsed.

There followed the phase of the influence of men's ideas on a situation. The doctrines of the Bolsheviks were not the only ones in the field. There were Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries; there were Czarists; there was anti-Russian nationalism; there were the Turkish adventurer, Enver, and pan-Turkish nationalism; there was foreign intervention; there were relapses into simple regionalism and tribalism and the would-be separatism of isolated oases. In the competition of ideas it was the Bolsheviks' zeal in organization and ruthlessness in execution that won out.

Not from Asia alone but around the whole periphery of the Soviet Union enough people have escaped to give us an idea of the dreadful consequences for those who tried to restore or simply to modify the old regime, or to support alternatives to the Bolshevik program. The most recent report on self-exiled refugees from Soviet Kazakstan and from Sinkiang—many of whom had previously fled from Russian into Chinese territory—is by an English member of Parliament, M. P. Price (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, December 31, 1953). It is the familiar tragic story: the retreat was led by religious leaders and tribal elders—those for whom the coming of Communist power, in Russia and China alike, meant a closed road.

What is infinitely harder to measure is the state of loyalty among those who did not escape, especially the younger generation. The general rule in countries that have been through a revolution is that the new conditions provide openings and opportunities for some of the people and those who benefit become supporters of the new regime. Whether those who benefit are an absolute majority or only a controlling minority has much to do with the speed and firmness with which the new regime settles into power.

IT IS TIME, however, to turn to the concepts of the nature of politics and change that are held in Asia itself. Diverse though Asia is, there are a few things that can be said without danger of oversimplification. One is that the suggestion that Asia is a vacuum of political ideas, and acts politically only under the spur of imported ideas, is indignantly repudiated. Another is that most Asian cultural traditions are not inclined toward philosophical materialism. The assumption that matter is controllable by thought, and even by faith, is commoner than the assumption that a way of thinking is a mere funtion of material conditions. Practically no Asians deny the importance of borrowed ideas, especially in the last fifty years; but what is important politically is the widespread confidence among Asians that they are competent to modify adopted ideas more than those ideas change them. Perhaps no people in Asia are more tough-mindedly self-confident in this respect than the Japanese.

Where Asia today comes closest to Soviet Russia in practice, though not in philosophy, is in the wide acceptance of the proposition that the major effects of the long period of Western domination of maritime Asia and czarist Russian domination of Inner Asia were the result not of ideas but of actions—actions that changed the economic structure of country after country, the fabric of society, the status and functions of what had once been ruling classes. They believe that in the long run a conservative alien government is just as potent as a revolutionary alien government in transforming the society that it dominates. It is for this reason, they believe, that all the new governments in Asia had to be new in form—different not only from what they were under alien rule, from what they had been previous to alien rule.

Asia is living through a period in which philosophical decisions on the nature of the state and pragmatic decisions on the operation of the state are related to each other with a greater intimacy than in many old-established states where either the philosophy or the mode of operation has come to be taken more or less for granted. This constant confrontation of philosophy and act creates high tension, and the tension is heightened further by what seems to be a trend toward the increasing importance of the secondary consequences of actions which, undertaken for one purpose, unavoidably have other consequences.

A Russian example is the strengthening of Communist China, which gives Russia a deep buffer zone on the Pacific and increased security in the heart of the continent; but a secondary consequence, planned or not planned, is the strengthening of Indo-China against American-supported France. Another example is the Inner Asian corridor, where industrialization and the development of communications are legitimate enterprises for the Russians and the Chinese. But the Russians themselves hold that military power is merely an emanation of other forms of power, especially industrial power. They may be angry, but they can hardly be surprised, if one of the consequences of their industrial growth is fear of the increased military potential that goes with it.

Current American policy seems to give military development a priority over economic development, at least in the countries to which we give aid, though not in America itself. We may feel misunderstood, but we should not feel astonished that we are misunder-

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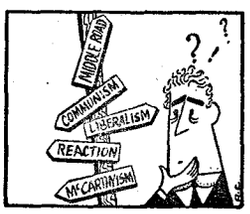
stood, when we find that the possible secondary consequences of our actions are as important to Asian countries as the intended primary consequences are for us. We would like to strengthen Pakistan so that it need not be intimidated by Russia in a cold war, and might be a valuable auxiliary to us in a hot war. "But," say the Indians, "you may not intend it that way, but you will also make the Pakistanis feel stronger in case they should threaten war in order to make us settle the Kashmir issue the way they want." "And," the Afghans add, "you will also make them feel stronger in case they decide to threaten us in the explosive Afghan-Pakistan frontier dispute."

The study of secondary consequences is a much-neglected aspect of power politics.



HERE TO INSANITY

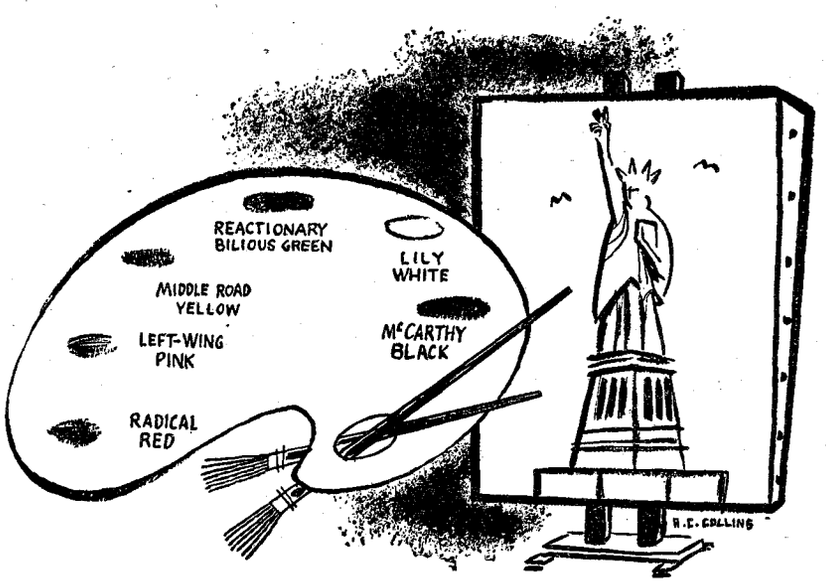
In Technicolor . . *by Dorothy Frank*

PEOPLE are no longer people. They have become color and direction. No more do you say, "He's in the furniture business." Instead you offer, "He's sort of pink, but not completely left." This capsule of conversation immediately conjures up a blurred photomontage of a scurrilous character lunging left into a mass of shaded pinks. The intensity of the color varies with the beholder. When you say pink, some may even see red. Equally variable is the image precipitated by: "Oh! That guy's really far right. He just waves the red, white, and blue to hide his fascism." With one sweep of your paint brush—better call it one smearing stroke—a man's past, present, and future are abruptly dismissed, and he becomes only friend or foe. There are no rules for color-mixing. You can suit yourself. It must be fun, because everyone's doing it. The sound and wholesome evaluation of Robert Burns's "A man's a man for a' that" has disappeared from the American scene. No one insists on knowing the specific ingredients of your color formula or questions you about a possibly "jaundiced eye" or hysterical blindness. That stuff is strictly for the medics.

In frantic desperation to avoid this color and direction labeling, there's a rush for the middle-of-the-road, though no one knows what color *that* is. Some say it's colorless; devotees, however, indicate it is sunny-colored; others insist it has an element of yellow.

All this hit me suddenly when my next-door neighbor told me she was going down South. For a moment I had to shake the left, the right, and the middle-of-the-road out of what I used to call my mind, which is fast becoming a compass. "South, South," I kept repeating. "What *is* down South?" We happen to live in Los Angeles, so she could have meant San Diego. Or Louisville. Or even New Orleans. I had the feeling it must be New Orleans and I almost blurted out: "Don't go! You know *they* have *that* Mardi Gras . . . Well, you can imagine what kind of people live there! Everyone will get the wrong idea if you go!" So accustomed was I to this kind of "thinking" that I almost added: "Anyway, *who* is going with you?" That seems to be all that counts, now; no one asks for destinations any more. But my reaction to her travel plans (I can't suppress the ready word-association "fellow-traveler"—for we are all bundles of tag phrases in addition to colors and directions) proved unexpectedly direct. I heard myself saying: "Where exactly are you going?" When she answered simply "to Chattanooga and Birmingham" I was flooded with friendly relief.

I get awfully worried about this left, right, and middle business. I don't really understand what it means. But no one can misunderstand Chattanooga and Birmingham. Things would be so simple if people were always specific and said: "I'm going by way of Tenney and Jenner, Jackson and Velde, all the way to McCarthy." And some could add: "Final destination—Hitler." That's one suggestion. Or it would be equally clear



DOROTHY FRANK is education chairman of Women for Legislative Action in Los Angeles and has been leading the fight to retain the UNESCO program in the public schools there.

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if one said: "My route is No Post-Office, No Government Ownership or Control of Any Kind. . . . I'm bound for Economic Anarchy." In the other direction folks might announce: "I'm traveling by way of Marx and Lenin all the way to Stalin." Disagreeable, dangerous, or disastrous as someone else's destination may be, I'd feel a lot safer to have things spelled out.

EVEN WHEN a group seems to know where it wants to go, there's a constant haggling over routes and passengers. Some groups on the left insist that each passenger be publicly sterilized before he's permitted to get on the bus. On the right, too, you hear the same defensive pattern: "Sure I'm on the right—but don't get me mixed up with *that* fascist." Great hassles are precipitated each time a name is brought up. What's clean to one seems contaminated to another. Many sorties, particularly on the left, get stuck before they start because that direction is now under more careful scrutiny than the right. Days and nights are spent in screening passengers: caution fast becomes suspicion, then terror, and in the end the whole trip fizzles out. Or else a paltry few embark where a caravan is needed.

This confusion invaded my own neighborhood with a vengeance. Just the other day the man down the street (we bought our houses at the same time, exchanged complaints about painters and plumbers, and learned we had chosen the same wallpaper for our breakfast room) gave me an icy look. I suddenly realized his hostility had been growing for some time. When I insisted on knowing what he had against me, he pointed out that I had openly staked my claim in UNESCO. Said he, "You're on a dangerous road with dangerous company. That's why my wife won't allow your daughter [she's a dangerous seven] in our house any more." Glaring at me, he added: "Why can't you stay in the middle of the road, like me?" I promptly asked him where his middle of the road was, because I thought that's where I'd been all this time. What could be more compatible with all the tenets of our democracy than the goal of international cooperation and peace? I was glad when he finally described his position. He was on the two-hundred-year-old highway with "no foreign entanglements," which he claims got him to his present good location. He wanted no traffic with the rest of the world. At last I knew his road was not mine. I was traveling on a 1954 highway from which one could see the entire small world—scenery far different from the limited horizons of George Washington's day. Although I left him angry enough to tear our mutual wallpaper out of his breakfast room, I was relieved nevertheless that he and I were no longer in a jumble of suppositions about each other.

I'm desperate for a map, for clearly plotted landmarks without technicolor. I no longer know what pink or even red means, or what is reactionary in 1954. I yearn to return to the clean free air of the open American road, to the time when people were really people, with faith in each other's essential decency and loyalty. I have the feeling that unless we can reestablish this faith we shall find that all roads, right, left, and center, will lead us to the oblivion of the H-bomb.

FRONT FOR REACTION

Americans for America . . *by Richard Morgan*

Chicago

WORKING quietly from national headquarters here, an organization called Americans for America is formulating strategy to elect a Congress next November which will be "loyal to our system of government." While plans are still indefinite, the group may seek to influence the results of eighty-eight Congressional and sixteen Senatorial contests.

Operating through local "front" committees, Americans for America terms itself the "only nation-wide organization to step forward to combat the election of left-wing Congressional candidates." By "left-wing," it means those candidates supported by Americans for Democratic Action, the A. F. of L.'s Labor League for Political Education, and the C. I. O. Political Action Committee.

The sole authority for determining A. F. A. policy rests with a six-member national committee composed of Chicago business and professional men who profess to believe that "creeping socialism" is this country's most dangerous enemy. An annual report issued by the organization defines the enemy as "an insidious movement threatening to restrict completely private enterprise and personal liberty." The public is invited to contribute its money for the fight, but the A. F. A. has no "general membership" as such and contributors have no voice in how their money is spent. There are no membership meetings and no literature is issued except an annual financial report and an occasional letter requesting contributions. The national committee *is* the organization.

The key man behind the A. F. A. is Edward A. Hayes, attorney and former national commander of the American Legion. In 1934 Hayes charged that the New Deal was seeking to destroy the Constitution and set up a communistic social order. In the 1952 Presidential campaign he denounced Adlai Stevenson's connections with Americans for Democratic Action as "an insult to every American boy who sleeps eternally under a white cross anywhere and particularly in Korea." Hayes was national

RICHARD MORGAN is news editor of a Chicago TV station.

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The Ultimate Test

The following advertisement appeared in the Help Wanted column of the Milford (Connecticut) *Times* on December 3, 1953:

SKY WATCH

If someone called you a Communist sympathizer you'd be horrified.

BUT

Any man, woman, boy, or girl who has not signed on, or been signed to a Civil Defense duty in Milford or somewhere in the U. S.

OR

Isn't keeping a "watch" at the Milford G. O. C. is a Communist sympathizer.

Melvina Eberle, Civil Defense Director
MUtual 4-3705

chairman of the A. F. A. until he resigned recently to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator from Illinois.

Honorary national chairman is General Robert E. Wood, board chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Company and former head of the America First committee. Wood and Hayes worked together some years ago helping to organize American Action, a political group which participated in the 1946 Congressional election campaign and which reportedly had listed 187 liberal Congressmen for "purging." American Action attracted such pro-fascist elements as Merwyn K. Hart, head of the National Economic Council, and Upton Close, former network radio commentator. However, Americans for America insists it is not an offshoot of American Action, and it seems to have made a deliberate effort to steer clear of persons like Hart and Close.

Other members of the A. F. A.'s national committee are Edward N. Wentworth, director of Armour and Company's Livestock Bureau; Joseph N. Field, assistant to the general manager of Marshall Field and Company; Charles R. Barr, public-relations man for Standard Oil; and John W. Shaw, head of an advertising agency. The organization also has an eighteen-member advisory committee which includes Frank E. Gannett, owner of a New York newspaper and founder of the reactionary Committee for Constitutional Government.

Ostensibly devoted to upholding democratic principles, the A. F. A. was organized in 1950 in singularly undemocratic fashion. Field's version is that he, Hayes, and Wentworth were members of a Chicago group called the Veterans Political Action Committee, which defined itself as "a civilian army to stand against the rising tide of state socialism." Dissatisfied with the committee's leadership, the three men called a secret meeting of "friendly" members who promptly voted the opposing faction out of the organization. The name was changed to Americans for America, Hayes was made national chairman, and full control was vested in the national committee.

The largest individual contributor to A. F. A. in 1952, according to Field, was the fabulously wealthy Texan, H. L. Hunt, who donated $5,000—the maximum permitted by law. Hunt, a friend of Senator McCarthy, is financing the Facts Forum radio and TV programs.

The organization received total contributions of $44,804 in 1952, according to its financial report. Field says that this came from "less than 1,000 persons representing three-fourths of the states." In addition, A. F. A. had $32,312 left over from 1951. The organization's total 1952 expenditures were $70,151, including a payment of $12,000 to Hayes's law office here, which also serves as A.F.A.'s national headquarters. The payment to Hayes, made in the form of a monthly $1,000 retainer, was for his services as legal counsel for the organization. The retainer ceased last July when Hayes prepared to run for the Senate. However, the A. F. A. still maintains its headquarters in the Hayes office.

AMERICANS for America confines its activities to Congressional campaigns. It operates in "marginal" districts or in states where the vote is likely to be close and where, of the opposing candidates, one is supported by the "left wing" while the other is a "loyal" American.

Contributions do not go directly to a candidate, primarily because he would have to report them. Instead, money is sent to a trusted person in the district who uses it to form a "citizens' committee" for the election of the favored candidate. A dinner rally generally kicks off the campaign. The next step is to organize a group of local volunteer workers who are assigned specific counties, wards, or neighborhoods. These workers ring doorbells and send direct appeals through the mails. Radio-TV and newspaper advertising are not believed effective. Thus all electioneering is done by local citizens working through a local "front" organization. The voter's only contact is with a "citizens' committee"; he knows nothing of the A. F. A. national committee in Chicago which is directing and financing the whole campaign.

A. F. A.'s first effort was in the 1950 Congressional elections. Since it was newly formed, it worked in only six campaigns. Five candidates which it supported were elected, including Senators Richard Nixon of California and John Marshall Butler of Maryland and Representative Busbey of Illinois. In 1952 the A. F. A. was active in thirty contests. Fourteen of its candidates won, among them Senators Goldwater of Arizona, Malone of Nevada, and Barrett of Wyoming, and Representatives Jackson of California and Busbey of Illinois.

The next major undertaking for Americans for America is the November Congressional elections. In the view of the men behind Americans for America, the greatest menace confronting the country today is the New Deal reforms of the last twenty years. Hayes and his lieutenants seek first to destroy what is left of the Rooseveltian program and then to make certain it stays dead for all time.

Variation on an Old Theme

In every lighted mind he sees
Drift of envious enmities,
His own black dream impelled to trace
A traitor in a scholar's face.

On every street, from every stand,
His views are hawked where truth is banned.
His "justice" is to choose by lot,
Books for burning, chains for thought.

A scarecrow in a field of shade,
He labors with a clammy spade
To bury sun and fog exhume
From Berchtesgaden to the noon.

Too soon the river bed runs dry,
And dust is all that's left of sky,
Yet no sun ever warms the breath
Of one who died before his death.

LINCOLN FITZELL

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BOOKS

Balanced Views of Russia

SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE. By Raymond L. Garthoff. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois. $7.50.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE SOVIET STATE. 1917-1950. By John Shelton Curtiss. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

THE DYNAMICS OF SOVIET SOCIETY. By W. W. Rostow, in Collaboration with Alfred Levin, and with the Assistance of Others at the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.95.

OUR SECRET ALLIES: THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA. By Eugene Lyons. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $4.50.

By Will Starnes

IN THESE days, when demagogues and honest citizens alike have made even the gentle ladies who used to model for Helen E. Hokinson foam at the mouth over Soviet Russia, it is encouraging that our society has enough collective wisdom and balance to produce learned studies in quantity on the most intimate phases of Russian life. Few of these, it is true, are entirely objective. All the writers here considered assume that our way of life is mysteriously right and that the other side is evil. But three of the volumes are fine enough to show the beginning of a more balanced phase.

If this trend continues, we may well end up knowing more about the Russians than we do about ourselves. Certainly there is no single volume which so carefully analyzes American military doctrine as Dr. Garthoff's does that of Russia. This admirably thorough study reaches conclusions that are likely to surprise many people in the Western world. "Marxism-Leninism exerted relatively little direct influence on Soviet military doctrine *per se*. . . . The influence of the imperial Russian army and doctrine is very considerable. . . . Foreign military influences, notably the ideas of Clausewitz, have contributed to Soviet military doctrine." The main part of the work is devoted to a presentation of the "Soviet principles of war." Among those discussed are the offensive, the salient thrust, annihilation, encirclement, morale, training, and leadership. Garthoff concludes with a study of the uses to which these principles are put at various levels of command and in all the branches of the Soviet service. Of particular interest is an appendix assessing the performance in the period June to December, 1941.

According to Dr. Garthoff's findings, Soviet military doctrine and practice differ from our own in a number of important ways. The Soviets have conceived a third level of military performance, one which they place between the traditional ones of strategy and tactics. It is called the "operating art" and is conducted on the army or "front" basis. Of equal interest is the fact that there are attached to each unit down to the regimental or equivalent level a deputy commander for political affairs charged with carrying the enthusiasm of the party to each soldier and a "counter-intelligence" officer whose job is "political surveillance and liquidation of counter-revolutionary tendencies." Soviet morale, though maintained at a high level, is achieved generally without furloughs, passes, or leaves. Marshal Voroshilov in 1949 observed that morale depended "first and above all on the nature of the political aims of the war . . . what the state is fighting for . . . on the depth of understanding of the justness of the war which is taking place." The doctrine of no surrender is so ardently held, at least at the theoretical level, that fighting units are given to understand that all Russians taken as prisoners of war are to be considered traitors. Membership in the party is practically necessary for promotion above company grade.

The importance of this work for other than military specialists is evident when we take into consideration the Communist emphasis on "the struggle" or unalterable conflict at all levels in the world of today and the dictum of Gen. Mikhail Frunze that "questions of military strategy, political and economic strategy, are very closely interwoven into a unified whole." In spite of many reports of confusion and fear in Soviet military units, some of which are told in convincing detail by Garthoff, he leads us to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is defended by a very efficient fighting force.

PROFESSOR CURTISS provides us with just as thorough a treatment of quite a different part of the Soviet scene in his scholarly and moving discussion of the working relationship finally achieved between church and state in modern Russia. In a masterful condensation of the intricacies of Orthodox church history, the story is brought down to 1917 in a few pages. Under the czars the Russian Orthodox church experienced what might be called in Professor Gilbert Murray's terms "a failure of nerve." Given the full support of the state, it failed to provide adequate spiritual inspiration for the masses, failed to aid in the solution of the problems at hand, and ended by losing much of what had been a truly captive audience to a foreign ideology—Marxian socialism. The author points out that at crucial points of public discontent the church stood staunchly by the regime that had so supported it as to have absorbed its very soul. The church identified itself not only with czarism but with some of the most repugnant of autocracy's shibboleths.

In a brilliant chapter on The Church and the Famine of 1921 Curtiss brings the Bolsheviks and the church to the real breaking point in their difficult coexistence. Lenin's regime was plagued with starving millions, and it seemed that the church was attempting to play politics with the famine and was reluctant to use its wealth—much of it untouched, though by then nominally state property—for relief purposes. Curses, anathemas, and raving on both sides show an impressive and almost theatrical struggle in which the long-suffering Russian people make up the Greek chorus.

The role of the Metropolitan and Patriarch Sergii in making peace with

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WILL STARNES, assistant professor of history at Hamilton College, recently conducted a survey of Russian studies in American and Canadian universities on a grant from the Ford Foundation.

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the Communists is well presented, and if the business of the Orthodox church is primarily the saving of souls and not the numerous other activities it has been engaged in from time to time, Sergii must emerge from these pages as a great Christian leader. Not only did he maintain tens of millions of adherents, but in 1944, when his successor was elected, the position of the church in Russia had so improved that in Moscow, the focal point of that world communism which the Orthodox church had branded as Satanism, an investiture of a patriarch was held. The ceremony was attended by enough visiting clerics, including several patriarchs, to make of it a spectacle approaching the enthroning of a Roman pontiff. A concert of religious music by the Patriarchal Choir and the Symphony Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. brought the festivities to a close.

Professor Curtiss concludes that in the post-war period the Soviet pledge of benevolence toward the church has been well kept. Perhaps, he says, this is because of a sincere belief on the part of the Communists that religion as a force will die out with the older generation.

W. W. ROSTOW'S book is an experiment in group scholarship by an international-studies center at M. I. T. The participating scholars attempted "to bring to bear the resources of the academic community on problems of action confronting the United States in its relations with the rest of the world." The volume is aimed at the non-expert, the lay citizen who wants to know, and if the reader skips the introduction, heavily laden as it is with those almost meaningless phrases of the "social scientist," he will find here much useful and well-organized information. The major part of the book is devoted to an examination, in survey form, of the establishment of Soviet rule. Marx, Lenin, the Russian bases for Leninism, N. E. P., the evolution of the M. V. D. through its various stages, Soviet foreign policy, and such matters as the Soviet attitude on morals and the church are all summarized.

Then the authors undertake a more unusual task in their discussion of the "cohesive forces, instabilities, and tensions" in current Soviet society. In a confident and clarifying fashion they place the Russians on charts, dissect them for us into positive and negative "cohesive forces" and into "group attitudes." These operations extend not only to the average Russian as worker, intellectual, bureaucrat, or peasant, but to all the current members of the Presidium as individuals. In a final chapter entitled Post-Stalin we are drawn rapidly to the conclusion that the adjustment necessary in Stalinist Russia without Stalin belongs "at the head of the list of dynamic elements in Soviet society." There are at work deeply rooted forces, such as the growth of popular literacy and the widespread desire for peace, which could provide a basis for changes for the better in Russia—better according to our standards. But changes in the Soviet system, stabilized artificially as it has been for twenty years by what the authors call Stalin's "massive consistency," may not necessarily be in the interest of the United States. We may not be spared a period of Soviet Bonapartism.

THE LAST VOLUME is a journalistic appraisal of Russia. Eugene Lyons's "Our Secret Allies" is the most popularly written and the least informative of these four works. Mr. Lyons has not considered it important to look at Soviet Russia from any but the American and "democratic" point of view, and thus his analyses of Russia's problems are the least plausible, though perhaps the most gratifying to American ears. Lyons is an interventionist. He advocates helping the Russians overthrow the Soviet government and proceeds to take to task a good many Americans, such as Justice Douglas, Henry Wallace, Freda Kirchwey, and Owen Lattimore, for what he calls inconsistency in their fight for freedom, because certain passages in their writings reveal that they do not side with him in what might be called his Trotskyite version of American foreign policy. Would Mr. Lyons be consistent in allowing the Russians the freedom to help overthrow other governments which *they* do not approve of? Consistency is hardly the criterion to apply to international politics. And quotations from *Life* and *Reader's Digest* do not help his argument at some of its weakest points.

The emphasis which the author places on revelations made to him by Russians "under the touch of vodka" of their hatred for the Soviet regime is as un-

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realistic an emphasis as if a Russian agent should advise his government to base its policy on the discontent expressed by a Kentucky colonel, after a touch of bourbon, over "the mess in Washington." But the idealism which Mr. Lyons expresses is admirable as idealism if not as practical policy.

All things considered, however, these writers are making real progress along the difficult road toward understanding the Russians. They are doing it by hard work and factual studies and by a brave suppression of that blinding hatred which is so often a result of being faced with an unknown.

New Books in Brief

In the Grand Manner

TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY. By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

This last instalment of Sir Winston's "The Second World War" lacks some of the élan that marked the earlier volumes and particularly "Their Finest Hour." Nor is it difficult to understand why. Snapping at the heels of the advancing armies, whose victories are here recorded, was a pack of sinister postwar problems. Against the bright light of the triumphal torches the approaching cold war was already silhouetted. In addition, Sir Winston's own spirits, during the period covered by this book, were depressed by the relative decline in British power and hence of his ability to command events. Grateful as he was to his American allies, he was frequently disturbed by their insistence on policies he considered unwise. A great many pages of this book are devoted to the story of his last-ditch fight to prevent the diversion of Allied forces in Italy to southern France in the summer of 1944. Sir Winston thought then, and still thinks, that this move contributed little or nothing to victory on the Western front while it shattered his own cherished strategy of an advance through northern Italy to Vienna.

The theme of this volume is: How the Great Democracies triumphed and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life. The worst of these follies, in Sir Winston's opinion, was the hurried dispersion of the Western armies while the Russian forces remained massed in the heart of Europe. And this error was magnified by General Eisenhower's decision—sharply protested by Churchill—to draw back his armies to the agreed zonal borders before even a preliminary agreement with Moscow had been reached. "Even at Potsdam," Sir Winston writes, "the matter might perhaps have been recovered, but the destruction of the British National Government and my removal from the scene at a time when I still had much influence and power rendered it impossible for satisfactory solutions to be reached." Such passages underline the fact that Sir Winston is writing *ex parte*. Nevertheless, while this is subjective history it is history in the grand manner, and it will continue to be read long after more objective chroniclers have corrected its biases, exposed its exaggerations, and filled in its *lacunae*.

Too Much Emotion

THREE POEMS FOR NOW. By Gordden Link.

DREAM AND RESPONSIBILITY. By Peter Viereck. The University Press of Washington, D. C. $1.50 each.

The University of Washington, D. C., inaugurates a new Chapbook series, excellently conceived but rather strangely selected. Gordden Link's "Three Poems for Now" offers one more series of talky-talky dooms. The complete title of the second poem runs:

PAGEANTRY OF DOOM
i Final Curtain
ii Now at the Edge of Oblivion:
Memories of Harvard at Midcentury.
iii Apocalypse

As one might guess, there's quite a good deal of the mushroom-shaped cloud in this one. The real disaster, however, is the writing.

And Peter Viereck, foreseeably, is Peter Viereck: four more over-sold, over-argued, over-simplified bits of Northampton seerage in that peculiar mixture of perception and insensitivity which sometimes moves but more often appals.

The fundamental Viereck weakness is one of posturing and demagogy. Viereck examines the question of the writer's relation to a free society. This is a central and searching question, and Viereck's stated thesis could not be sounder, nor does his development of it lack moments of valuable insight. Viereck is for the free mind, and the free mind must be the basis of all value. But is Viereck's kind of emotional soap-box the best platform for reasoned discussion? Or may it not be that to mount the soap-box for any purpose is to indorse the soap-box first and the purpose second? One thinks of Yeats's great line: "How shall I tell the dancer from the dance?" How can one separate a man's intent from his gesture? Whatever Viereck's intent, his gesture is too certain and too violent to serve the best purposes of intellectual inquiry.

Hereditary Missionaries

CHINA COAST FAMILY. By John C. Caldwell. Henry Regnery. $3.50.

John Caldwell is the China-born son of one of the most famous "hereditary" missionary families in China. He vividly conveys that special sense of "belonging" which so often characterizes the native-born foreigner, and his book will give other Americans a fresh and friendly insight into the China that used to be. He rightly stresses what he calls the "Point Four" aspects of missionary work, its contribution not only to education and medicine but to the spread of all kinds of technological innovations. His father, the famous tiger-hunting Harry Caldwell, was one of those missionaries—and there were many of them—who became widely trusted and influential: a negotiator with bandits and a consultant to civil and military officials. Quite a few missionaries could match the romantic story of the unknown boatman who at a moment of crisis took the elder Mr. Caldwell down a dangerous flooded river and refused payment—not because the missionary had ever done anything for him personally but just because of "the things you have done for my people and my country."

Mr. Caldwell makes one startling free gift to Chinese Communist propaganda, in the statement that his father "was for a long period, unknown even to Mother, acting as a secret intelligence agent for the United States Navy." The Commu-

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nists, who are obsessed with the suspicion that all missionaries were spies, will of course ignore the further statement that this intelligence work consisted largely of reporting Japanese activities.

Spirit of the Renaissance

THE PORTABLE RENAISSANCE READER. Edited by James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin. Viking. $2.50.

Not merely an anthology but an ambitious attempt to document in 750 pages the spirit of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe. Besides the obvious great, many of the moderately and some of the extremely obscure are represented, and the fields of literature, art, science, politics, and religion are covered. About such a collection it is of course not easy to generalize; one can say hardly more than that the Renaissance was at least an ambitious and strenuous time. At its worst that meant ruthlessness in action, an almost insane pursuit of "splendor," and a sort of windy rhetoric on the part of the humanists. At its best it meant bold thought, ingenious investigation, a passionate devotion to knowledge, to truth, and to art. Clearly, the only unity that can be attributed to the period is one that will include Calvin as well as Galileo, Paracelsus as well as Leonardo. The selections are very carefully chosen and a sound introduction, biographical notes, and extensive bibliography are included —all in all a great deal for the money.

Veracity of a Hero

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH: HIS LIFE AND LEGEND. By Bradford Smith. Lippincott. $5.

John Smith is the earliest of our folk heroes. But how much of the received legend is history and how much the invention of the hero has been a hotly debated question for many years, with the majority of historians tending to question Smith's veracity and, in particular, to regard his rescue by Pocahontas as romantic fiction. In addition, Smith's reputation as a lying braggart appeared to be supported by Hungarian historians who asserted that his account of his adventures in Hungary as a soldier of fortune was full of errors.

Now Captain John has found a stout defender. While Bradford Smith has been able to produce little new direct evidence, he has, with the aid of Dr. Laura Polanyi Striker, carefully reinvestigated the Hungarian episodes in John Smith's "True Travels." Research by Dr. Striker, the results of which form an appendix, indicates that Smith's account of the extremely confused military situation in Hungary at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Emperor Rudolf was simultaneously fighting the Turks and seeking to extirpate his Protestant subjects, conforms broadly with contemporary records. Whether this authenticates the Captain's tales of his personal exploits, such as the defeat of three enemy champions in single combat, readers must decide.

Theater

Robert Hatch

[Harold Clurman's regular theater column will appear next week. It was omitted from this issue to make room for Mr. Hatch's review of the new Anouilh play, "Mademoiselle Colombe," which was directed by Mr. Clurman.]

JEAN ANOUILH, a repeatedly successful playwright in Paris, has been spurned four times running in New York. He has implied that if the local market proves cold to "Mademoiselle Colombe" (Longacre Theater) he will drop America from his future plans. The ultimatum is only sensible, and the play is a good test case. It offers showy parts for Julie Harris and Edna Best, two talented entertainers with high Broadway ratings; its tone is often naughty but often edifying; it is extremely busy, which gives one the feeling of having been amply regaled. This, obviously, is theater.

The busyness springs from the fact that Anouilh has had the dextrous notion of presenting simultaneously a domestic tragi-comedy (Miss Harris) and a backstage farce (Miss Best). The Siamese device, besides encouraging liveliness, clouds the fact that neither of the

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twins has anything very pressing to say.

Miss Harris's play tells how Colombe, when still too young to know that she is a realist, marries a boy who has known from the cradle that he is an idealist. He wants to love her for her virtue; she wants to be loved for her lovableness and has no trouble finding someone —her husband's brother—who will do just that. Miss Best's farce sketches the personality of an aging star who, having once been worshiped as Venus in the flesh, continues to play the role when years and hard experience—eight husbands—have shaped her into a dame with the voice, figure, and manners of a regimental sergeant. The joke is that she gets away with it. The narratives are spliced together by the fact that the old girl is the young girl's mother-in-law and stage sponsor.

Since this is good boulevard fare, Colombe has the last moral word. Her husband is seen as a man who earns his horns, and one must admire the ingenuity of an erring wife who vindicates herself on the ground that her impulse to appear naked at bedroom windows has been repressed. The Harris yarn descends straight from the Courts of Love by which lords and ladies once sped the tedium of the plague; it is the old game of showing how many lovers can dance on the head of a pin. Miss Best's caricature touches the great theme of life's capitulation to art, reduced to a vaudeville that amuses everybody and disturbs nobody. In the present context it is also a parody refutation of the argument in the love story that the real body must prevail over the ideal spirit. Thus the author not only fills his stage but hedges his philosophy; the play is so full of loopholes as to be impregnable.

"Mademoiselle Colombe" is set in Paris about 1900, but I never felt very far from Broadway, 1954. The New York adaptation, by Louis Kronenberger, is written in a spruce American vernacular that flows easily but seems a little flat, considering the French reputation for stage *mots*. Julie Harris, Eli Wallach, her husband, and William Windom, her lover, are as specifically modern American as Ohio State University; Miss Best's rich performance is based on an honest vulgarity that suggests the opera houses of the Midwest more than it does the Comédie Française. Therefore, the genuinely European demeanor of the main supporting actors—Sam Jaffe, as an embittered and poisonous secretary to Venus, and Mikhail Rasumny, as her private playwright and poet-toady—makes the principals seem like American tourists aping Continental manners. Since Harold Clurman was working with performers who are much better at projecting their own attractive faces than at assuming unexperienced masks, he might have done better to settle for a light suggestion of time and place. His decision to try for exotic flavor results in an air more Frenchy than French.

On the other hand, his direction gives the play the great merits of speed and clarity. "Mademoiselle Colombe" romps through the evening under his expert jockeying, and his stage planning has kept in perfect order a structure so cunning that it could have been a shambles in less painstaking hands. He is helped in this by Boris Aronson sets that are both fetchingly tricky and entirely workable.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE first of a series of reopenings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art has put back into circulation its collections of European paintings. Some 700 pictures are on view in a new arrangement. As the occasion was scheduled many months ago to coincide with a congress attended by nearly fifty of the leading museum directors and art scholars of Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Americas, it is not surprising that so vast an undertaking did not meet the deadline with all details in perfect order. Thus the new lighting of the galleries, which appears to be very flexible, can in the course of time be improved to reduce glare and consequent eyestrain, and to eliminate the annoying shadows cast by frames across the top of a good many pictures. A more serious defect, however, lies in the choice of hangings for several of the more important galleries. The decision to give them color and richness is laudable, but the specially made Fortuny cottons are too strong in pattern and in tone for the pictures, and sometimes the colors themselves are actively discordant. One sees rose-red walls before one sees the Altman Rembrandts upon them, and El Greco's *Toledo* is hardly at its best on a pale gold ground. On the other hand, the deep reds of his St. Jerome, in the great collection lent for this opening by Robert Lehman, are wonderfully projected by the same rose background which is so uncomplimentary to the Rembrandts.

The over-all scheme of the arrangement deserves considerable praise. A chronological rather than a national order has been followed, and with such ingenuity that the Friedsam, Altman, and Bache collections, which had to be kept intact, seem to fall easily into its course. Though I should still enjoy seeing El Greco near Goya, I readily accept the opportunity of seeing him next his contemporaries as a more profitable substitute. The new plan had to be accomplished within the existing architecture of separate rectangular rooms; and to point out that a modern labyrinth is a preferable way of showing pictures would not be relevant. Nevertheless, the Metropolitan suffers from symmetry: it is difficult to overcome the feeling that the largest picture, centrally placed, is not the best. When this happens to be Rosa Bonheur's Horse Fair, which I am glad to see back again, it is disconcerting to find it dwarfing Courbet's Village Girls, which used to dominate its own surroundings.

While the International Congress is not within the province of a review of this sort, I should be inexcusably remiss in failing to mention it. André Malraux's major address was as electric as his "Voices of Silence," and its spiritual force cannot have been lost on the dozens of American museum directors, scholars, and assorted intellectuals who were privileged to hear it. Most of the visitors are distinguished men of affairs as well as scholars or museum officials (Malraux is a member of the Council of French National Museums). From the three-day congress and the

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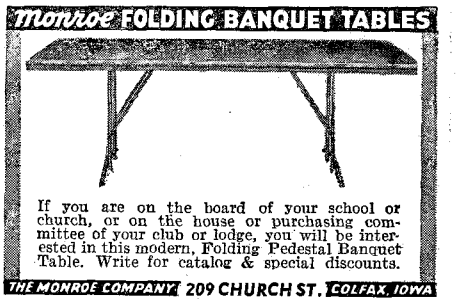
forthcoming tour of the United States by its members one may look forward with confidence to the most substantial kind of international understanding.

MEANWHILE, in the New York galeries, modern art pursues its varied course, and our painters and sculptors will not be unhappy to observe that the congress enables such astute critics as Georg Schmidt of Basel and Carl Nordenfalk of Stockholm to see their work. If I were advising our visitors on these matters, I should suggest that after reviewing the recent European painting at the Guggenheim Museum they consider the selection of American work at the Sidney Janis Gallery (through January 23). One major example of each of the following is included: Davis, De Kooning (The Woman), Gorky, Hofmann, Kline, Pollock (the big composition of 1952 with the blue diagonal poles), Rothko, Still, and Tobey. Having berated Clifford Still in a previous column I am happy to eat crow as I contemplate the decorative exhilaration of Large Yellow Field with its contrasts developing centrifugally from orange, white, and gray into red, violet, blue, and black. (There is a smaller dark picture in the Betty Parsons Gallery, adjacent.) I am lukewarm, however, about Stuart Davis, Kline, and Tobey.

Jean-Paul Riopelle, who is represented at the Guggenheim show, has a one-man exhibition at the Pierre Matisse Gallery. To a disturbing degree these paintings seem to be fragments, large and small, of the same picture, and I shall therefore reiterate a previous feeling that where Pollock, whom they superficially resemble, is tense and strongly laced, Riopelle is loose and merely agreeable.

Among several other shows I visited, the following provoke briefer comment. The Van Dongens (Wildenstein), all recent works, are much slighter than his early reputation. The urbane charm of Guys, whom he seems to admire, does not lend itself to blatant Fauve color. An authentic charm, partly related to an extremely modest scale, is exhaled by the paintings of Colleen Browning (Edwin Hewitt, through January 30), who provided a magic moment at the Pittsburgh International in Holiday, included here again. This kind of painting will not alter the course of art history, but I should find it grim business to limit myself to the heroes. The admirable Stable Gallery deserves better contents than Larry Rivers's slack sculptures. At the Tibor de Nagy Gallery (also through January 30) the same artist is exhibiting paintings and drawings. In writing this column over the past two years I have conscientiously avoided snide remarks, but I cannot resist the temptation to say that when it comes to getting George Washington across the Delaware, I'll put my money on Emmanuel Leutze and not on Larry Rivers.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Music

B. H. Haggin

RECENTLY I spoke of those whose ears go along with the accepted view of Bach's B minor Mass as a towering masterpiece from first note to last, instead of hearing the uninspired music in parts of the work. This is of course only one instance of many in which people hear not the actual music or performance but what this is transformed into by their own loyalties or generally accepted ideas. Thus, recordings exist of the superbly phrased and shaped performances Beecham used to give of certain works of Mozart—recordings that enable us to perceive that his present performances are distortions of them; but there are people who hear the distortions of the present performances as the superb phrasing of those of years ago. In this instance they are influenced by loyalty; in others they are influenced by current ideas—the idea, for example, that since Monteux conducted the first performance of "Le Sacre du Printemps" his performance must be the definitive one, instead of the hard fact of Stravinsky's own recorded performance, which should enable anyone to hear that the work in Monteux's performance hasn't the power it should have.

Now one can see the possibility of argument over a conductor's phrasing; but one would think nobody could fail to hear the unpleasant sound or the tremolo of a singer. Actually, however, Beecham and Weingartner command nothing comparable with the passionate loyalties to singers. When I reported Traubel's tremulously acidulous singing

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in a performance of "Tristan und Isolde" a few years ago I received letters of protest that sounded as though they had been written in tears; and it was evident that the tremulously acidulous sounds had reached the writers' ears as the opulence of earlier years. And a year ago, discussing the news magazines' news story with built-in critical estimate, and the way such a story, once started, was kept going by one writer after another and got to be part of the body of accepted belief, I cited as an example the then current news story of Milanov's having at last achieved the control of her voice that now made it "the grandest operatic feminine voice at the Metropolitan"—a story accepted by writers and listeners who should have been able to hear the actual threadbare and tremulous voice, the scooping, the sagging pitch.

A COUPLE of years ago there was the story of how Mr. Bing's ear had detected the soprano voice hidden by the contralto of Margaret Harshaw, and how as *Brünnhilde in "Die Götterdämmerung"* she had revealed herself as Flagstad's successor. This line of thought was continued in subsequent writing (as recently as the January 4 issue of *Newsweek*); and it is the reason for the enormous applause after Harshaw's successive exhibitions of tremulous stridency in the recent Metropolitan performance of "Don Giovanni" I attended—to say nothing of her inability to cope with the florid passages of *Non mi dir.*

In the title role was Nicola Rossi-Lemeni, largely as a result of the news story, in the fall of 1952, of the sensational debut in San Francisco of a bass of Chaliapin-like stature. And this must have been the reason also for the ovations after singing which was rough-textured in full voice, more agreeable—but also more mannered—in half-voice. Or perhaps some of the applause was for a curious dramatic performance which gave the impression of his playing with the part rather than in it.

Of the other new singers in the cast Cesare Valletti (Don Ottavio) and Erich Kunz (Leporello) were especially fine; Lisa della Casa (Donna Elvira) had a voice that was dry and lusterless but clear and steady, and used it well; Hilde Gueden (Zerlina), Lorenzo Alvary (Masetto), and Lubomir Vichegonov (Il Commendatore) also sang well. An Max Rudolf conducted effectively.

The new production uses a permaner set designed by Charles Elson whic largely achieves its purpose of avoidin time-consuming changes of scene. Wh it does not achieve always is its primar purpose of serving the dramatic actio It comprises a house-front on each sid with a ramp curving around from mi stage and upward to a doorway in th upper story of the house on the righ With this ramp it is suitable and effe tive for most of the outdoor scenes, b not for the indoor ones, which appear t take place outdoors—with ruinous effe in the scene of the Commendatore's vis to Don Giovanni in his house. And i the first act the scene before Do Giovanni's house is played before a cu tain dropped to conceal the stage th is set for the ball scene—with the absur result that Leporello, in the upper sto of the house-front *behind* the curtai perceives and talks to Donna Ann Donna Elvira, and Don Ottavio *in fro of* the curtain.

Nor is this the only thing of its kin at the Metropolitan this year. Not onl do the words *(Salut! demeure,* and *El ouvre sa fenêtre)* refer to the house i the garden scene of "Faust," but th action at the end of the scene requires it Marguerite goes into the house an opening a window and thinking hersel alone, sings of her love, which cause Faust, who has been watching, to rush t embrace her. Nevertheless, in the Metr politan's new production the garde scene has no house; and not only doe one hear words about a house that isn there, but one sees Marguerite hurry o by a path at the left after leaving Faus and later return by the same path, whic makes less sense than a girl's openin her window dreamily after getting home And if there is some other purpose i this innovation that the designer, th director, and Mr. Bing consider wort sacrificing the dramatic sense for, wasn't evident to me at the dress re hearsal I attended.

This has been true of other such inno vations in the Metropolitan's new pro ductions. And what is evident by now i that Mr. Bing has—in addition to hi valuable qualities—a fallible judgmen about singers (Del Monaco, Harshaw and a susceptibility to silly bright idea in stage designing and direction.

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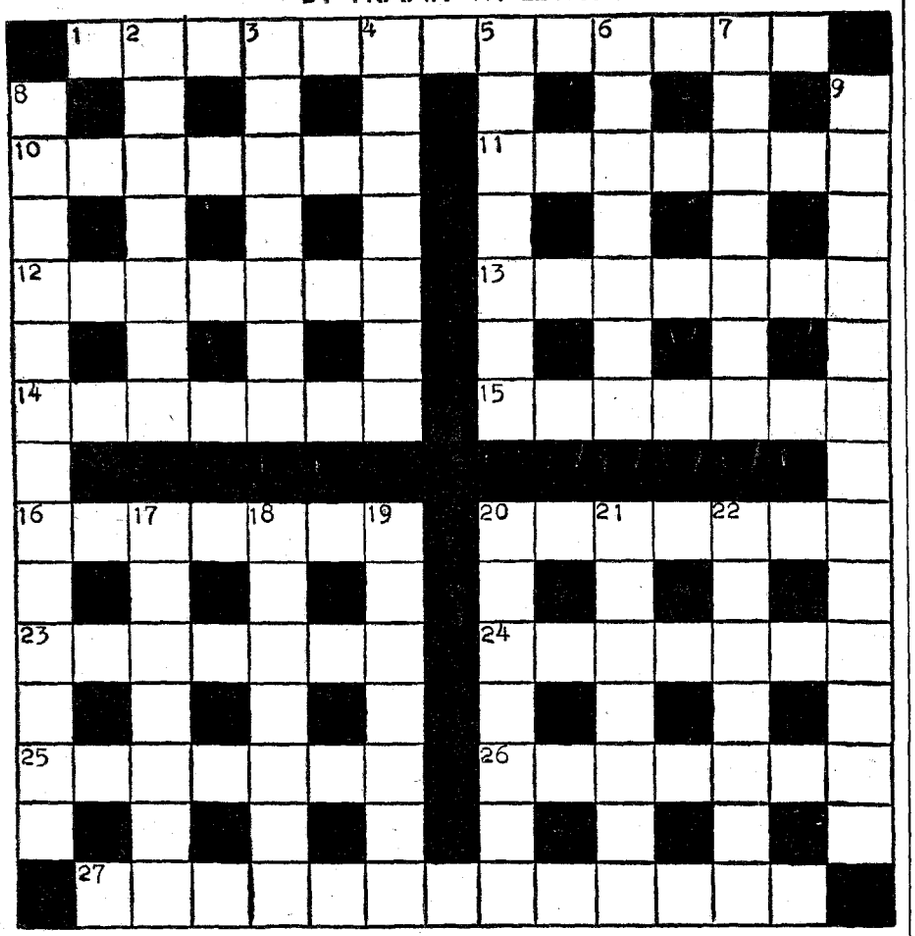
Crossword Puzzle No. 551

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A weaver might attribute his lack of skill to this primary designation of the way. (3, 3, 3, 4)
10 If you think your garden is in fine shape, this could be it! (7)
11 Scotch purse. (7)
12 This kind of art sounds like the last thing in hog-wash! (7)
13 Blarney stone? (7)
14 Consecrates. (7)
15 Pen the blind goddess of peace used synthetically? (7)
16 The boat that seems to have just about everything in store for it. (7)
20 This performance involves heavy casting. (4-3)
23 Pertaining to part of the system never in disorder. (7)
24 Troops do at the end of the line, if not sooner. (7)
25 The sort of ghost the world assembly doesn't include in disarmament plans. (7)
26 A kind of letter-head? (7)
27 Involved in a dispute by boss lumberjacks? (2, 11)

DOWN

2 "The Old Man of the Sea" gets a write-up on the air. (7)
3 This girl might be traditionally Marianne's. (7)
4 Certainly not beaming. (7)
5 Holds a middling pair at poker in a fast game, perhaps. (7)
6 Not the castle corner! (7)
7 The course of flight? (3, 4)
8 Single step affair, like going to the window to look out, pouring a drink, etc. (5, 8)
9 Raved uncertainly, yet steadfastly about it, in an unintentional way. (13)
17 7 might start here when the song gets left. (7)
18 It's not telling the whole truth to imply the ship is standing still. (5, 2)
19 This plays some small part in your ability to make your mark! (7)
20 Cider, as a drink for the police lieutenant, perhaps. (7)
21 Would a pole cut from it be several times larger? (7)
22 The way the hair is piled at the back? (7)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 550

ACROSS:—1 FIT TO BE TIED; 9 VINTNERS; 10 BELIAL; 11 IGOROTS; 14 and 12 TO BE OR NOT TO BE; 15 INDIGENT; 17 SPOT CASH; 20 POLISH; 22 ELEVATE; 24 STRIATE; 25 DOLLAR; 27 GRENOBLE; 28 NEVER SAY DIE.

DOWN:—2 INTERCEPT; 3 THEATER; 4 BUST; 5 TABLOID; 6 ECLAT; 7 GINGKO; 8 CARBON; 13 RIGHT; 16 GALLIPOLI; 18 PELION; 19 ASTARTE; 20 POTTERY; 23 VALVE; 25 EGGS.

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WHERE TO RETIRE TODAY —AND ENJOY IT

by Norman D. Ford

If there is anything I have found out in traveling up and down this country and throughout the rest of the world, it is this: It costs less to retire than you may think it does—*provided you know how to discover those places where it costs less to live the kind of life you like.*

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(In the next column, read about two books by Norman D. Ford which tell you just this.)

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